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ABSTRACT

It was hypothesized that increasingly, talented Black students are enrolling in predominantly White colleges and universities, favoring them over predominantly Black institutions. In assessing changes in the role Black colleges are playing in educating talented Blacks, a study looked at the pool of talented Black students to see what proportion attends Black institutions, and how the proportions have shifted between the two school types. Data were used from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program, a national longitudinal study. This study used responses by first-time, full-time Black freshmen to the 1970 and 1978 questionnaires, except in the far west, where no traditionally Black institutions exist. Data items used included those on high school grades, high school class rank, expectations of graduating with honors, parental income, and plans to get an advanced degree. The hypothesis was borne out. It is recommended that further research be done to determine what characteristics Black colleges have to attract talented Black students, and also that these institutions strengthen their honors programs and expand cultural enrichment and internship programs by attracting federal, state, and private business monies. (MSE)

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THE CONTINUING BRAIN DRAIN:
COLLEGE SELECTION AMONG HIGH ACHIEVING BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
1970 - 1978

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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The 1970s have been a decade of impressive gains for Blacks in American higher education -- or so it seems. According to 1970 Census figures, about one-half million Black students were enrolled in college, representing about 7 percent of all college students. By 1977, 1.1 million Black students 14-34 years old were enrolled in college, constituting 11 percent of the college population. Black students accounted for 13 percent of all freshmen and sophomores but only 9 percent of all seniors (U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1979). If these trends continue, the increasing proportion of lower-division Black students suggests that Black levels of college attainment may soon equal those of Whites.

The increased proportion of these Black underclassmen hold the promise that Blacks may soon be represented proportionately at all undergraduate levels with Whites. However, a closer look at the distribution of the best and brightest Black students reveals another trend that may augur less well for the historically Black college: Academically talented Blacks are increasingly likely to enroll in predominantly White colleges and universities. From the perspective of the historically Black colleges, this exodus of bright Blacks must be viewed with concern. In addition, the fall 1978 full-time, first-time enrollment of Black freshmen in traditionally Black institutions declined by 13.1 percent while the enrollment decline for all freshmen in traditionally white schools was only 0.2 percent (Sharp drop in enrollment found at 102 Black colleges, 1972:12).

The influx of talented Black youth into predominantly White schools is not new. Richard Freeman traces it back to the 1930s (1976:47). Several researchers -- including H.S. Dyer (Dyer, 1967), Allan Bayer (Bayer, 1972:13), and Bayer and Robert Boruch (Bayer & Boruch, 1969:3)--have documented its persistence through the 1960s.

The purpose of this paper is threefold: first, to investigate whether the brain drain of Black college freshmen from historically Black colleges has continued to the current academic year; second, in the context of this talent shift, to inquire about the aspirations for higher degrees of many students who choose to attend historically Black colleges; and third, to speculate on the implications of these trends.

Changes in the role that Black colleges play in educating talented Black students can be assessed in two ways. The first involves looking at the pool of talented Black students (as defined by high grades, high test scores, or whatever) to see what proportion of that pool attends White institutions and what proportion attends Black institutions and how the proportions have shifted between the Black and the White sectors over a given period of time. That is the method that has been used in this analysis. The second way involves looking at the total pool of Black students attending White institutions and the total pool attending Black institutions to see what proportion of those two clienteles consist of talented students (by whatever definition) and whether the proportions have increased or declined over a given period. In the latter case, we would ask: Are the students now enrolled in Black institutions less talented, as a group, than was the case in

previous years? Conceivably, Black colleges could experience declines in their share of the total pool of talented Blacks but at the same time have student bodies consisting of larger proportions of talented Blacks now than in the past.

Definitions and Background

In a study done for the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, Watley used several variables to define college-motivated bright Black youth (Watley, 1971a). "Bright Blacks" were considered to be those who had NMSQT selection scores in the top quartile of distribution of scores or those who had obtained B+ to A averages in high school. Watley compared the educational and career plans these students had as eleventh-graders in high school with the plans they indicated on a one-page questionnaire administered about two and a half years later. Several student characteristics were considered in the analysis: sex, measured academic ability, parental income, geographical region of residence, and high school grade average.

In another study, Watley conceptualized the joint notion of "brain gains and brain drains" when he investigated the migration of talented Black and Nonblack youth (Watley, 1971b). The concept of brain drain used in this study is similar to the previous one. As used in this paper, brain gain or brain drain refers to shifts in the relative proportions of Black freshmen in predominantly White and in historically Black colleges over the period 1970-1978.

Predominantly White universities and colleges are those post-secondary institutions that until relatively recently enrolled few

Blacks, while the approximately 100 historically Black colleges were organized after the Civil War expressly to educate Blacks during an era of racial separation in the South.

To demonstrate that the brain drain is continuing, we will first look at national survey data for fall 1970 and for fall 1978 that show the distribution of the highest-achieving Black freshmen between the White and Black collegiate sectors.

Data and Procedures

The data were collected by the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP), an ongoing longitudinal program, established thirteen years ago to study the impact of different college environments on student development.¹ The CIRP annually surveys first-time, full-time freshmen entering a representative sample of the nation's colleges and universities. The discussion here is based on the responses to the 1970 and 1978 freshman questionnaires of all Black students participating in the CIRP except those in the Far West, which has no historically Black colleges and is distant from areas that do have such colleges. Thus, for many students in the Far West, the decision of whether to attend a White or a Black college may be determined more by geographical considerations than by the relative attractiveness of the two types of institutions.

Enrollment Patterns of Talented Black Students

To identify high-achieving, high-aspiring Black freshmen, we chose items from the freshman questionnaire on high school grades

1. The program is directed by Alexander W. Astin of UCLA, sponsored by the American Council on Education and UCLA, and currently supported in part by the National Institute of Education.

and high school class rank, expectations of graduating with honors, parental income, and plans to get an advanced degree. What follows is an analysis of the enrollment patterns of these students in White and Black colleges and universities.

Students with outstanding high school records

High school grade averages are a fairly reliable indicator of past academic achievement. For the highest achievement category, Black students reporting high school averages of A or A+, the proportion enrolling in White universities rose 2.9 percentage points between 1970 and 1978, the proportion enrolling in White colleges dropped 2.7 percentage points, and the proportion enrolling in Black institutions remained about the same (Table 1). At the next level, Black students with high school grades of A-, each type of White institution gained by about 7 percentage points, whereas Black institutions lost close to 15 percentage points over the same period. For the B+ group, the proportion who chose to enroll in White universities remained about the same, the proportion choosing White four-year colleges rose by 9 percentage points, and the proportion enrolling in Black institutions dropped by the same amount. Overall, then, there was a shift between 1970 and 1978 in the proportions of high-achieving Black freshmen enrolling in Black and White institutions, to the advantage of the latter. (INSERT TABLE 1 HERE)

Another index of high school achievement is the student's class rank. Table 2 shows the proportions of Black students in the top quartile of their high school classes enrolling in different types

of institutions. Between 1970 and 1978, the proportion choosing White universities rose nearly 3 percentage points, those choosing White four-year colleges rose by 7.5 percentage points, and those selecting Black institutions declined by over 10 percentage points.

INSERT TABLE 2 HERE

Students expecting to graduate with honors

Over the period from 1970 to 1978, White institutions not only increased their share of Black freshmen with high grade averages and class ranks but also increased their proportion of Black students confident of earning honors in college (Table 3). The overall proportion of Black freshmen reporting that they thought they had a "very good chance" of graduating with honors increased by one percentage point between 1970 and 1978. The corresponding increase at White four-year colleges was almost 8 percentage points, but the Black institutions' share of students anticipating honors on graduation declined by nearly 5 percentage points. The White universities' proportion of Black students reporting "some chance" of graduating with honors declined by about 3 percentage points from 1970 to 1978. This decline was more than offset by an increase of almost 11 percentage points in the proportion entering White four-year colleges. By comparison, over the same period Black schools experienced a 7.5 percentage point loss of those Black students who felt they had some chance of graduating with honors.

INSERT TABLE 3 HERE

Students with affluent parents

In these days of declining freshman enrollments, the sons and daughters of affluent parents, who can pay their own way and thus free

up scholarship funds for other students, are attractive to admissions committees. Thus, it is noteworthy that in the Black higher education sector from 1970 to 1978, the proportion of Black college freshmen whose parents' income was over \$20,000 declined substantially (Table 4). It is remarkable that parental incomes of these students have not at least remained stable. Declining parental income distributions in the face of substantial inflation is indeed striking. The proportion of students in Black institutions who reported that their parents' income was over \$40,000 per year declined by more than 10 percentage points. The loss of affluent students is an especially severe blow to the Black institutions: Not only are such students able to pay their own way but also, because of the correlation between socioeconomic background and academic achievement, they are likely to be above-average students. In addition, they are more likely than other students to become affluent adults themselves, ready to contribute to their alma mater and, in time, to consider sending their own children to it.

INSERT TABLE 4 HERE

Students from high socioeconomic backgrounds

Income is only one measure of socioeconomic status; the other most commonly used indicators are (1) level of education and (2) occupation. As Table 5 indicates, the proportion of Black freshmen whose fathers had a college degree decreased at Black institutions and increased at White institutions. The findings with respect to students whose fathers had a postgraduate degree were less clear-cut: White universities and Black institutions experienced a loss of such students, whereas White four-year colleges increased their share.

INSERT TABLE 5 HERE

Similarly,

the proportion of Black students whose mothers had at least a college degree dropped at White universities and Black institutions but rose at White four-year colleges (Table 6). INSERT TABLE 6 HERE

The enrollment patterns of Black freshmen whose fathers were in high-status occupations follows the same general pattern (Table 7). The proportion of Black students whose fathers were engineers, lawyers, or physicians decreased at Black institutions but increased in the White collegiate sector between 1970 and 1978. This trend suggests that the offspring of people who are themselves high achievers, both educationally and professionally, are being siphoned off from the Black institutions.

INSERT TABLE 7 HERE

Students with aspirations for advanced degrees

This analysis indicates that Black institutions have indeed suffered a brain drain from the beginning of the decade to the current academic year. Black students who make superior high school grades and hold top ranks in their high school classes, who expect to graduate from college with honors, and who come from affluent, well-educated and high-status families, increasingly tend to enroll in White rather than Black institutions. When we look at the distribution of Black students with high degree aspirations, a similar, though less pronounced, pattern emerges (Table 8). Between 1970 and 1978, the White four-year colleges' share of Black students aspiring to a Ph.D. (or Ed.D.) increased slightly, their share of those aspiring to a law degree increased drastically (by 15.7 percentage points), and their share of those aspiring to a medical degree dropped slightly. Con-

comitantly. White universities and Black institutions suffered a loss of Black students aspiring to an academic doctorate or a law degree but gained slightly with respect to Black students planning to get a medical degree. **INSERT TABLE 8 HERE**

Obviously, to aspire to a degree -- or anything else -- is not necessarily to achieve it. Some students may have unrealistically high degree aspirations which they have little chance of actualizing. Since past academic performance is one of the best predictors of future academic achievement, a further analysis was conducted of the institutional distribution and degree aspirations of those black freshmen who had made B+ or better grades in high school. As Table 9 indicates, between 1970 and 1978, the White collegiate sector captured a higher proportion of high-achieving students, especially those aspiring to advanced degrees such as the Ph.D., the M.D., and the LL.B., and concomitantly the Black institutions' share of such students declined. The proportion of high-achieving Black students aspiring to these three types of degrees declined between 1970 and 1978. **INSERT TABLE 9 HERE**

Follow-up research is needed to determine what proportion of Black students in White and Black sectors actually reach their degree goals. In addition, research should be done to measure changes in the proportion of educationally able Black students within each of these collegiate sectors. The research reported on in this paper is concerned with changes in each sector's relative share of academically talented Black students, rather than with increases or decreases in the proportions of such students among the clientele of each sector. For example, greater growth in the number of White compared with Black

institutions may result in a relative decline in the proportion of Black students in Black colleges even though the number enrolled remains constant. Even though their relative share of academically talented Black freshmen is down, Black colleges may still have an internal distribution of educationally able students reasonably similar to the one they enjoyed before the increase in White college recruiting and admissions during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The discussion that follows is a consideration of the implications raised by the loss that Black institutions suffer when disproportionately large numbers of high-achieving Black freshmen enroll in White colleges and universities.

Implications for Further Research and Policy Formation

From the perspective of the Black colleges the loss of academically talented students is clearly a negative trend, as Vincent Harding has noted (Harding, 1968:380). He commented that the practice of siphoning off educationally able may be "robbing the Black communities of those painfully developed strengths which grew there in spite of America's shameful treatment (Harding, 1968:38). On the other hand, such students are likely to attain higher levels of scholastic achievement in prestigious White universities and colleges. A recent study by James McPartland suggests that increasing efforts to desegregate the secondary schools may create further pressures on Black colleges by encouraging more and more Black students who would previously have attended predominantly Black colleges to opt instead for White colleges (McPartland, 1979). As noted at the beginning of this paper, Black first-time, full-time enrollment is down. Therefore, Black colleges

are faced with enrollment declines which will not necessarily be relieved even if federal funding is increased. This situation calls into doubt the effectiveness of President Carter's recent Executive Order to federal agency heads concerning increased money for predominantly Black colleges (Carter, 1979).

One assumption that must be clearly enunciated is that the most effective means possible must be sought to secure equal educational opportunity for all Black and minority students, be they academically talented or average. The Black colleges constitute a historical resource for educating broad segments of the Black community. As such, the traditional Black colleges could reasonably serve an important function in enhancing the educational attainment of bright Black students. The following recommendations are based on the premise that historically Black institutions can and should have a future in the educational task before the nation because that task demands resources that cannot currently be provided by the White collegiate sector alone.

Recommendation 1 -- It is clear that the degree aspirations of the many students at Black colleges are extraordinarily high. Further research should be conducted to ascertain the characteristics of historically and predominantly Black colleges that enable them to attract bright Black students (Sedlacek, Merritt, & Brooks, 1975). In addition to this marketing research, the traditionally Black colleges should collaborate in obtaining research grants to study the aspirations and achievements of their own academically able Black students.

Existing research indicates that Black colleges may have more positive effects than White institutions on the motivation of Black undergraduates. For example, Samuel Peng and William Feters found Black students less likely to withdraw from college than Whites when other variables are controlled (Peng & Feters, 1977). Astin noted that, while attending a White institution may improve a Black student's chances of being admitted to graduate school, attending a Black college raises that student's chances of completing the bachelor's degree (Astin, 1978). Other research indicates that, once in graduate school, Blacks from Black colleges and Blacks from White colleges and universities perform equally well according to grade-point average and persistence criteria (Anderson & Hrabowski, 1977). Hartnett has noted that Black students attending traditionally Black institutions and those attending traditionally White institutions differ in some of their attitudes and college orientations (Hartnett, 1970). Having chosen SAT scores as his measure of academic achievement, Hartnett observed that the practice of focusing on students with higher SAT scores is bringing about a redistribution of behavior styles and personality characteristics that contributes critically to campus environments.

Research should also be done on the role of Black colleges in encouraging their students to enter careers in the health professions, science and mathematics, and engineering. In a recent study of the attitudes of Black students at two Black colleges toward opportunities in the health professions, Bruhn and Hrachovy found that lack of academic preparation and of adequate career counseling were the major

reasons for the limited number of Black students in these fields (Bruhn & Hrachoux, 1977).

Effective minority programs in engineering could be distributed among Black college engineering schools where they do not now exist (National Academy of Sciences, 1975). Dillon has investigated how the attitudes and behaviors of Blacks toward science are related to their perceptions arising from their unique experience as Black Americans (Dillon & James, 1977). Such research should be replicated and built upon to determine the matching of students and college characteristics that most enhances degree attainment in these areas.

Black representation in the nation's business enterprises, though increasing, is still low. Gottfredson used Holland's classification of occupations into six types to examine the large income discrepancies between Blacks and Whites (Gottfredson, 1978). She found that, taking level of education into account, Whites were more likely than Blacks to work at certain kinds of jobs that pay more and that people with relatively little education can make higher incomes when they work at occupations of the enterprising type (which includes many jobs in business) than when they work in other types of occupations. If this finding is correct, the limited graduate education facilities available to Blacks may not prove a handicap in that a higher proportion of Black students with no more than a baccalaureate in business administration could enter enterprising types of occupations.

All of these research findings could and should be transformed into academic, counseling, and financial aid programs on a larger scale than has been the case to date. The result might be that Black institutions could attract a greater share of bright Blacks who at present are

more likely to choose White institutions because of their superior academic and financial resources.

Recommendation 2 -- If most Black colleges are to survive, they must reconcile the dual tasks of educating the brightest and educating the most typical Black students. Honors programs at Black colleges should be strengthened; they should also be extended to primary and secondary schools, so that a pool of college-bound high school students familiar with what Black colleges can offer them is developed. In addition, existing honors exchange programs with White colleges and universities should be expanded to permit bright Blacks from White schools to attend Black colleges for a term, and students from Black colleges to attend White institutions. The strengthening and expansion of such programs as Minority Access to Research Careers (MARC) and Minority Biomedical Support, and the simultaneous establishment of new programs in other disciplines, would increase the attractiveness of Black colleges to Black students now enrolled in White universities and colleges.

In addition, the Black college lobbies should use their political clout to open the doors to cultural enrichment and internships with federal and state agencies as well as with private business so that their students can develop the practical experience so attractive to future employers. Current aid programs such as Title III should be focused to increase research and career development opportunities for junior faculty at Black colleges; further, the pay scales of these faculty should be increased so that effective teachers and researchers will not be lured away by wealthier White institutions.

To repeat the major assumption of this discussion, bright Black students should seek the best academic opportunities available, but

the scope of the White collegiate sector to recognize or support all such students is currently limited. In addition, the end of private foundation support for minority students implies a different market situation for those talented Black students whom the prestigious White institutions were formerly able to attract at little cost to themselves. If fewer bright Black students will be entering the elite institutions, the traditionally Black colleges have before them an opportunity to develop themselves as institutions while increasing educational opportunity for Blacks in a period of retrenchment.

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TABLE 1

ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN
WITH B+ OR BETTER HIGH SCHOOL GRADES, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u> <u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>1978</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>White universities</u>					
A+, A	427	35.1	1389	38.0	+2.9
A-	944	28.5	2218	36.1	+7.6
B+	2634	26.9	4040	26.6	-0.3
<u>White four-year colleges</u>					
A+, A	443	36.4	1235	33.7	-2.7
A-	925	27.9	2151	35.0	+7.1
B+	2882	29.5	5833	38.4	+8.9
<u>Black institutions</u>					
A+, A	346	28.4	1035	28.2	-0.2
A-	1441	43.5	1775	28.9	-14.6
B+	4259	43.6	5323	35.0	-8.6

TABLE 2

ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN
IN THE TOP QUARTILE OF THEIR HIGH SCHOOL CLASS, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u> <u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>1978</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Difference</u>
White universities	7923	31.9	9357	34.8	+2.9
White four-year colleges	6508	26.2	9063	33.7	+7.5
Black institutions	10378	41.8	8438	31.4	-10.4

TABLE 3

ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN
EXPECTING TO GRADUATE FROM COLLEGE WITH HONORS, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>White universities</u>							
Very good chance	1027		21.7	6764		22.6	+0.9
Some chance	8756		24.9	9951		22.0	-2.9
<u>White four-year colleges</u>							
Very good chance	1406		29.7	11181		37.3	+7.6
Some chance	10035		28.6	17809		39.4	+10.8
<u>Black institutions</u>							
Very good chance	2306		48.7	6342		43.9	-4.8
Some chance	16332		46.5	19465		39.0	-7.5

TABLE 4

ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN
FROM AFFLUENT FAMILIES, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u> <u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>1978</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>White universities</u>					
\$20,000 - \$24,999	376	25.8	1588	26.4	+0.6
\$25,000 - \$29,999	158	22.9	977	29.4	+6.5
\$30,000 - \$34,999	87	22.0	818	32.1	+10.1
\$35,000 - \$39,999	32	22.3	355	22.9	+0.6
\$40,000 or more	75	23.0	695	29.0	+6.0
<u>White four-year colleges</u>					
\$20,000 - \$24,999	390	26.8	2262	37.7	+10.9
\$25,000 - \$29,999	116	16.8	1192	35.8	+19.0
\$30,000 - \$34,999	81	20.4	823	32.3	+11.9
\$35,000 - \$39,999	41	28.3	555	35.9	+7.6
\$40,000 or more	81	24.9	696	29.0	+4.1
<u>Black institutions</u>					
\$20,000 - \$24,999	691	47.4	2157	35.9	-11.5
\$25,000 - \$29,999	415	60.3	1158	34.8	-25.5
\$30,000 - \$34,999	228	57.7	909	35.6	-22.1
\$35,000 - \$39,999	71	49.3	637	41.1	-8.2
\$40,000 or more	170	52.1	1015	42.0	-10.1

TABLE 5

ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN,
BY FATHER'S EDUCATION, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u> %	<u>N</u>	<u>1978</u> %	<u>Difference</u>
<u>White universities</u>					
Grammar school	2950	22.3	2264	17.4	-4.9
Some high school	3745	21.9	3640	19.1	-7.7
High school diploma	4750	24.4	5369	22.3	-1.1
Some college	2344	32.3	2502	26.6	-5.7
College degree	1022	24.2	1750	25.6	+1.4
Some graduate school	-	-	330	25.5	-
Postgraduate degree	914	31.1	1530	28.7	-2.4
<u>White four-year colleges</u>					
Grammar school	3536	26.8	5041	38.8	+12.0
Some high school	5089	29.8	7734	40.6	+10.8
High school diploma	6482	33.3	9721	40.4	+7.1
Some college	2211	30.5	3666	38.9	+8.4
College degree	1134	26.9	2062	30.2	+3.3
Some graduate school	-	-	474	36.7	-
Postgraduate degree	679	23.1	1431	26.8	+5.7
<u>Black institutions</u>					
Grammar school	6717	50.9	5671	43.7	-7.2
Some high school	8254	48.3	7693	40.3	-8.0
High school diploma	8224	42.3	8967	37.3	-6.0
Some college	2697	37.2	3249	34.5	-2.7
College degree	2064	48.9	3018	44.2	-4.6
Some graduate school	-	-	488	37.7	-
Postgraduate degree	1345	45.8	2376	44.5	-1.3

TABLE 6

ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN,
BY MOTHER'S EDUCATION, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u> <u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>1978</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>White universities</u>					
Grammar school	1385	20.2	1248	18.6	-1.6
Some high school	4113	22.2	3501	18.0	-4.0
High school diploma	5713	25.7	6659	22.0	-3.7
Some college	2362	28.3	2975	25.0	-3.3
College degree	1404	25.2	2122	24.8	-0.4
Some graduate school	-	-	422	25.3	-
Postgraduate degree	747	28.8	1448	27.9	-0.9
<u>White four-year colleges</u>					
Grammar school	2225	32.5	2597	38.7	+6.2
Some high school	5515	29.8	8029	41.3	+11.5
High school diploma	7150	32.1	12479	41.2	+9.1
Some college	2618	31.3	4690	39.3	+8.0
College degree	1144	20.6	2733	32.0	+11.4
Some graduate school	-	-	515	30.8	-
Postgraduate degree	480	18.5	1115	21.5	+3.0
<u>Black institutions</u>					
Grammar school	3243	47.3	2862	42.7	-4.6
Some high school	8904	48.0	7918	40.7	-7.3
High school diploma	9396	42.2	11115	36.7	-5.5
Some college	3375	40.4	4256	35.7	-4.7
College degree	3015	54.2	3696	43.3	-10.9
Some graduate school	-	-	752	43.9	-
Postgraduate degree	1368	52.7	2629	50.6	-2.1

TABLE 7
ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN,
BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u> <u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>1978</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>White universities</u>					
Accountant	87	21.1	155	26.8	+7.7
Business executive	453	29.9	858	26.9	-3.0
Business owner	495	29.1	518	23.9	-5.2
Clergy	137	17.5	238	24.7	+7.2
College teacher	116	41.0	131	35.7	-5.3
Dentist	61	38.0	39	18.3	-19.7
Elementary teacher	138	27.6	159	23.7	-3.9
Engineer	207	16.9	517	20.5	+3.6
Lawyer	89	28.5	109	40.2	+11.7
Physician	95	20.2	169	36.4	+16.2
Secondary teacher	284	26.0	443	28.6	+2.6
<u>White four-year colleges</u>					
Accountant	173	41.7	204	35.1	-6.6
Business executive	506	33.4	1213	38.1	+4.3
Business owner	385	22.6	766	35.4	+12.8
Clergy	259	32.9	421	43.8	+10.9
College teacher	34	12.0	22	6.1	-5.9
Dentist	37	23.3	65	30.3	+7.0
Elementary teacher	94	18.9	202	30.2	+11.3
Engineer	524	42.7	1112	44.0	+1.3
Lawyer	72	23.1	66	24.2	+1.1
Physician	98	20.9	124	26.5	+5.6
Secondary teacher	175	16.0	315	20.3	+4.3
<u>Black institutions</u>					
Accountant	154	37.2	221	38.1	+0.9
Business executive	556	36.7	1116	35.0	-1.7
Business owner	823	48.3	882	40.8	-7.5
Clergy	391	49.7	303	31.5	-18.2
College teacher	133	47.1	214	38.2	-8.9
Dentist	62	38.8	111	51.4	+12.6
Elementary teacher	268	53.5	308	46.1	+7.4
Engineer	497	40.5	900	35.6	-4.9
Lawyer	152	48.4	97	35.7	-12.7
Physician	276	58.9	173	37.1	-21.8
Secondary teacher	634	58.0	792	51.1	-6.9

TABLE 8
ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN,
BY DEGREE ASPIRATIONS, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u> <u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>1978</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>White universities</u>					
None	50	11.0	224	12.0	+1.0
Associate	397	35.0	176	13.9	-21.1
Bachelor's	4003	21.5	3969	23.3	+1.8
Master's	5940	23.7	5233	21.4	-2.3
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	3078	27.7	3130	26.7	-1.0
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., D.V.M.	932	33.2	1982	33.6	+0.4
LL.B., J.D.	820	34.2	1307	27.0	-7.2
B.D. or M.Div.	30	22.6	138	17.0	-5.6
Other	127	17.1	372	16.8	-0.3
<u>White four-year colleges</u>					
None	146	31.9	1059	56.9	+25.0
Associate	469	41.3	801	63.4	+22.4
Bachelor's	5227	33.4	6875	40.4	+7.0
Master's	6795	27.1	8520	34.8	+7.7
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	3020	27.1	3678	31.4	+4.3
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., D.V.M.	868	30.9	1743	29.5	-1.4
LL.B., J.D.	624	26.0	2018	41.7	+15.7
B.D. or M.Div.	32	23.4	337	41.6	+18.2
Other	297	39.9	925	41.8	+1.9
<u>Black institutions</u>					
None	260	57.1	577	31.0	-26.1
Associate	270	23.8	287	22.7	-1.1
Bachelor's	8399	45.1	6187	36.3	-8.8
Master's	12373	49.3	10753	43.9	-5.4
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	5027	45.2	4906	41.9	-3.3
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., D.V.M.	1008	35.9	2178	36.9	+1.0
LL.B., J.D.	953	39.7	1520	31.4	-8.3
B.D. or M.Div.	73	54.0	337	41.4	-12.6
Other	321	43.1	915	41.3	-1.8

TABLE 9

ENROLLMENT PATTERNS OF BLACK FRESHMEN WITH OUTSTANDING HIGH SCHOOL GRADES,
BY DEGREE ASPIRATIONS, 1970 and 1978

	<u>N</u>	<u>1970</u> <u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>1978</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>White universities</u>					
None	24	66.6	53	18.2	-48.4
Associate	53	49.5	38	16.0	-33.5
Bachelor's	750	24.3	1372	34.5	+10.2
Master's	1496	26.1	1875	23.0	-3.1
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	1039	29.2	1418	34.4	+5.2
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., D.V.M.	268	32.8	1110	41.2	+8.4
LL.B., J.D.	264	46.2	576	34.0	-12.2
B.D. or M.Div.	8	12.5	44	23.7	+11.2
Other	21	19.6	85	22.7	+3.1
<u>White four-year colleges</u>					
None	6	16.7	182	62.3	+45.6
Associate	48	44.9	172	72.0	+27.1
Bachelor's	993	32.1	1485	37.4	+5.3
Master's	1645	28.7	2491	30.5	+1.8
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	1049	29.4	1267	30.8	+1.4
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., D.V.M.	271	33.1	690	25.7	-7.4
LL.B., J.D.	94	16.5	694	40.9	+24.4
B.D. or M.Div.	32	50.0	91	50.0	0.0
Other	54	50.5	175	46.8	-3.1
<u>Black institutions</u>					
None	6	16.7	57	19.5	+2.8
Associate	6	5.6	29	12.1	+6.5
Bachelor's	1348	43.5	1116	28.1	-15.4
Master's	2601	45.3	3795	46.5	+1.2
Ph.D. or Ed.D.	1476	41.4	1434	34.8	-6.6
M.D., D.O., D.D.S., D.V.M.	278	34.0	890	33.1	-0.9
LL.B., J.D.	213	37.3	426	25.1	-12.2
B.D. or M.Div.	24	37.5	51	27.4	-10.1
Other	32	30.0	114	30.4	+0.4